

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4653

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L JERUSALEM 1250

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJ: ATTITUDE OF WEST BANKERS TOWARD POLITICAL FUTURE

SUMMARY. RENEWED POSSIBILITY OF POLITICAL SOLUTION TO PALESTINIAN QUESTION HAS PROVOKED RENEWED DISCUSSION OF DIVERSE IDEAS AMONG WEST BANKERS, BUT THERE IS NO CONSENSUS AND NONE SEEMS LIKELY TO EMERGE. WE DISCERN MORE WIDESPREAD RELUCTANCE TO RETURN TO JORDANIAN RULE BUT OTHERWISE LITTLE CHANGE IN BASIC VIEWS THAT HAVE PREVAILED AMONG THE POLITICALLY CONSCIOUS THROUGHOUT PERIOD OF ISRAELI OCCUPATION. THREE PRINCIPAL POSSIBILITIES ADVOCATED ARE RETURN TO JORDANIAN CONTROL, INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE, AND SOME SORT OF SEMI-AUTONOMOUS STATUS WITHIN KINGDOM OF JORDAN. AMONG THOSE WHO OPPOSE JORDANIAN CONTROL BUT RECOGNIZE PROBLEMS OF INDEPENDENT ENTITY, THERE IS SOME TALK OF UN TRUSTEESHIP FOLLOWED BY PLEBISCITE. END SUMMARY.

1. WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH HAVE LED POLITICALLY CONSCIOUS WEST BANKERS TO GIVE RENEWED ATTENTION TO QUESTION OF THEIR POLITICAL
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FUTURE. WHILE THEY ARE DISCUSSING VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES AMONG

THEMSELVES, OUR SOUNDINGS INDICATE THAT THEY ARE NO NEARER CONSENSUS THAN IN PAST. WE HAVE IMPRESSION GREAT BULK OF WEST BANK POPULATION REMAINS BASICALLY PASSIVE, NOT KNOWING JUST WHAT IT WANTS (EXCEPT END OF ISRAELI OCCUPATION) AND WAITING TO SEE WHAT WILL DEVELOP. THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE OF MORE WIDESPREAD RELUCTANCE TO RETURN TO GOJ RULE OF PRE-1967 TYPE, PARTICULARLY AMONG WORKING CLASS MAJORITY OF POPULATION WHICH NOT ANXIOUS TO RETURN TO POSITION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFERIORITY IN FEUDALISTIC JORDANIAN SOCIETY THAT IT HAS BEEN ABLE TO ESCAPE IN MANY RESPECTS UNDER OCCUPATION.

2. RETURN TO JORDANIAN CONTROL IS, OF COURSE, FAVORED BY LANDED OLIGARCHS AND FORMER JORDANIAN OFFICIALS WHO, INTER ALIA, PRESUMABLY FEAR ANY OTHER SOLUTION WOULD JEOPARDIZE THEIR PRIVILEGED STATUS. THEY WANT PALESTINIAN "RIGHTS" PROTECTED IN PEACE SETTLEMENT, BUT LOOK TO GOJ RATHER THAN ANY DISTINCT PALESTINIAN GROUP TO REPRESENT PALESTINIAN INTERESTS IN NEGOTIATIONS. THESE PRO-HASHEMITES FORM THE ONLY REALLY COHESIVE BODY OF OPINION ON WEST BANK.

3. THERE ARE NUMBER OF ADVOCATES OF SEPARATE PALESTINIAN STATE, BUT THIS PROPOSITION TENDS TO BE PUT FORWARD MAINLY AS ALTERNATIVE TO JORDANIAN CONTROL BY THOSE WHO OPPOSE LATTER, AND LITTLE THOUGHT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN EVEN NOW TO DETAILS OF SUCH PROPOSAL. ADVOCATES INCLUDE MANY MEMBERS OF WEST BANK INTELLIGENCIA AND PROFESSIONAL CLASS, AS WELL AS TRONG NATIONALISTS, SUCH AS JAMIL HAMAD, EDITOR OF LOCAL ARABIC WEEKLY AL FAJR, WHO FEAR REPRISALS IF HUSSEIN REGAINS CONTROL OF WEST BANK. THEY ARE ANXIOUS FOR PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN PEACE TALKS BUT FEAR THEY WILL BE IGNORED. DESPIET CONCERN AND FRUSTRATION OVER THIS SITUATION, THEY CONCEDE WHEN QUERIED THAT THEY HAVE NO ANSWER TO QUESTION OF HOW BEST TO ACHIEVE SUCH PARTICIPATION.

4. AMONG THOSE WHO OPPOSE HASHEMITE RULE BUT RECOGNIZE PROBLEMS THAT WOULD FACE AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINE AND THE ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES OF ACCESS TO JORDAN (AND ISRAEL), BEST SOLUTION APPEARS TO BE SEMI-AUTONOMOUS STATUS WITH SOME TIE TO JORDAN. CERTAIN POLITICIANS, SUCH AS HEBRON'S SHEIKH JA'ABARI, WHO APPEAR TO HAVE KEPT TIES WITH HUSSEIN WHILE WORKING EFFECTIVELY WITH ISRAELIS, HAVE SPOKEN IN FAVOR OF THIS ALTERNATIVE IN PAST. FOR PRESENT, CONFIDENTIAL

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HOWEVER, THEY SEEM TO BE KEEPING OWN COUNSEL, NOT COMMITTING THEMSELVES TO SPECIFIC COURSE. AS WITH INDEPENDENT STATE, DISCUSSION OF THIS IDEA TENDS TO BE IN GENERALITIES.

5. IDEA OF PLEBISCITE, POSSIBLY PRECEDED BY UN TRUSTEESHIP FOR PERIOD OF 5 YEARS OR SO, HAS ALSO ATTRACTED CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT. NOT A NEW IDEA ON WEST BANK, IT TENDS TO BE HELD BY PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE WEST BANKERS WILL DECIDE FOR SEPARATE ENTITY. WE HAVE

IMPRESSION ALSO THAT, WITH TIME FOR DECISION APPARENTLY CLOSER
AT HAND, THOSE WHO OPPOSE GOJ RULE BUT SEE THE DIFFICULTIES
OF INDEPENDENCE TURN TO THIS TYPE OF INTERIM SOLUTION AS MEANS
OF BUYING TIME TO WORK OUT ACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVE.
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